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COMMENT

HAUSNER'S OMISSION

Mr. Ben-Gurion's arrival in London for his talks with the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary comes at a moment when the air is thick with reports of the Israel Attorney General's accusations against Sir Winston Churchill's wartime administration. Mr. Gideon Hausner left the court—and world opinion—in no doubt that it was his considered conclusion that the Churchill Government quoted "technical difficulties" as an excuse for doing nothing to help to save a large part of Hungarian Jewry from meeting their death at Auschwitz. It is therefore particularly welcome to note that the Israel Prime Minister will also, during his brief stay in this country, call on Sir Winston, whom Mr. Ben-Gurion considers to be the greatest statesman of our time. He will be able then to repair the Attorney General's inexplicable omission and pay due tribute to the part played by Churchill in the endeavour to save Hungarian Jewry.

* * *

Mr. Hausner's presentation of documents at Tuesday's session of the court must appear as an attempt to implicate the British authorities—both the nature of the presentation and the material leave one without any alternative conclusion. It is important therefore to put the record straight before we go any further, for there appears to be an inherently dangerous and wholly unjustified assumption underlying this new and political rather than judicial aspect of the trial. For the Eichmann proposal to send Brand—together with the Gestapo agent Grosz—to Istanbul was not an isolated move by Eichmann which came to naught because of British indifference; it was, as we now know, part of a world-wide calculated political offensive initiated by Himmler and his circle. Its real purpose on all levels was to drive a wedge between the western Allies and the Russians—and Stalin was fully informed and full of suspicion.

If the Attorney General had paid more attention to the setting in which the negotiations took place between Weizmann and Sharett and the British authorities, he would have been less selective and one-sided in his presentation of documents to the Court, and, possibly, also less injudicious in rejecting the British explanation. For the Weizmann-Sharett conversations with Eden and the Foreign Office took place in the midst of a major Anglo-Russian crisis. The Polish Home Army had risen in Warsaw on the night of

August 1st, 1944 and appealed to the Russians and the British for immediate help. The R.A.F. started to drop supplies, but found the long flight both dangerous and unrewarding. They asked the Russians for permission to land in Soviet-held territory and refused. The Russians refused.

* * *

What would have been their further reaction if they had been told that the British were negotiating to supply the Germans with transport for use against the Russian armies? Or if the British had decided to bomb the Auschwitz camps and death chamber might there not have been a great outcry, for there were not only Jews there but also thousands of Russians and other Allied prisoners? Would the Hungarian Jews have made no complaint had they been bombed? Who can answer these questions with certainty today? But if these are speculative matters there is nothing uncertain about the action which Churchill took immediately after Weizmann had approached him.

He initiated the most forceful intervention possible to warn the Germans and Hungarians of the consequences. Why did Hausner not quote from the famous Churchill directive to Eden of July 11th, 1944 (it is quoted in full on page 24)? And it was not his only one. There were many more supporting measures to aid Jews fleeing from Greece, to bring about the Jewish Brigade, to arm the Jews in Palestine. Mr. Ben-Gurion's visit to Sir Winston may do something to correct the distorted picture Mr. Hausner presented on Tuesday. But most serious is the implied suggestion in Hausner's selective documentation that Eichmann's offer might after all have saved many Jews. That is untrue. It was without question the cruellest fraud of the war. It was not designed to save Jews but to save the Germans from total defeat by dividing the allies among themselves. Churchill understood it and so did Weizmann.

* * *

But in the excitement, false excitement largely, over these documents another aspect which has emerged has been largely overlooked: there was nowhere for the Jews to go in 1944—except Palestine. No one else wanted them. Where, then, were those supposed American plans to save European Jewry about which Mr. Morris Ernst has talked so much and which make their periodic appearance in the *Spectator*? The choice before the greater part of European Jewry as we can now see very clearly, was a simple and final one—either Palestine or Auschwitz. Less than a hundred thousand were admitted into Palestine.

DIPLOMACY

BEN-GURION REASSURED

IMPRESSED BY KENNEDY'S GRASP OF MIDDLE EAST PRIORITIES

from our special correspondent

New-York—Wednesday :

The Israeli Premier emerged from the President's suite on the 28th floor of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel last night at 6.22 p.m. with the President escorting him, looking pleased and feeling reassured. The encounter with the enigmatic young President had more than fulfilled his hopes.

They had talked for some ninety minutes, and they had wasted none. The President was not talking to a brief. He was interested and extremely well informed both in the wider discussion of the problems of the Afro-Asian nations and the more particular difficulties of Israel's relations with the Arabs.

He made it clear that there was no question of seeking a settlement in the Middle East at Israel's expense or without her full consent. The United States is not even considering making "gestures" which did not believe that peace could be bought in this way.

Nasser's restraint : He informed the Israeli Premier of the steps which he had taken recently to sound the Arab leaders about their intentions. Like the Canadian

Premier last week, President Kennedy had evidently been impressed by the restrained nature of President Nasser's replies to the Washington soundings.

For Nasser emphasised that it was not due to his own desire that the anti-Israeli tension was maintained, but that Arab public opinion would immediately desert him, if not worse, were he to attempt any kind of rapprochement with Israel.

Kennedy was inclined to share Diefenbaker's feelings that under these conditions the west might try to build a golden bridge for President Nasser which could make negotiations with Israel a more feasible proposition.

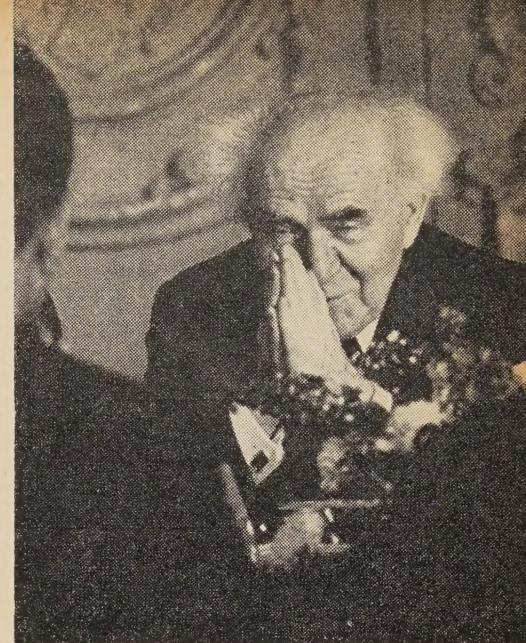
Will Kruschev play ? But Kennedy also emerged as a realist. He was convinced, as was Ben-Gurion, that Nasser neither could nor would respond to a purely western initiative. It could work only if the Russians were also associated with it. Neither in Ottawa nor with Kennedy was there any specific proposal for a four-power guarantee of Middle East frontiers at this stage.

But it was left as a possible secondary, but not inconsiderable, subject that Kennedy might broach in Vienna. For with Kruschev's participation, Nasser might feel inclined to take the risk of talking peace.

Ben-Gurion clearly impressed his hosts in Canada and again the President by his relaxed confidence. He did not ask for arms or for financial help: all he wanted was to create the necessary conditions that would enable Israel to help herself.

Concern for Afro-Asia : For once Ben-Gurion "discovered" the new President, the load that he had secretly carried since last November seemed to lift. Kennedy's warmth and friendliness, and his evident knowledge and understanding, clearly impressed and relieved Ben-Gurion greatly. He came away from his meeting convinced that Israel has a good friend in the White House.

Kennedy on his side also let it be known that the United States had full understanding not only for Israel's position but also for the remarkable stature of her Prime Minister. For Ben-Gurion's analysis and proposals for the future of the Afro-Asian world took up more time,



ENCOUNTER ON THE 28TH FLOOR

No need for gestures

if anything, than the specifically Israeli problem.

It was the first time that Kennedy had met a national leader who was not entirely preoccupied with his own problems, and the experience greatly appealed to him. It was largely on his suggestion that Ben-Gurion later met with Vice-President Lyndon Johnson and Labour Secretary Arthur Goldberg, and, for a fuller exchange of views, with Secretary Dean Rusk.

But the important thing for both parties was that they now understood each other, and knew what they wanted. But before Ben-Gurion left, he had also carried out another important function.

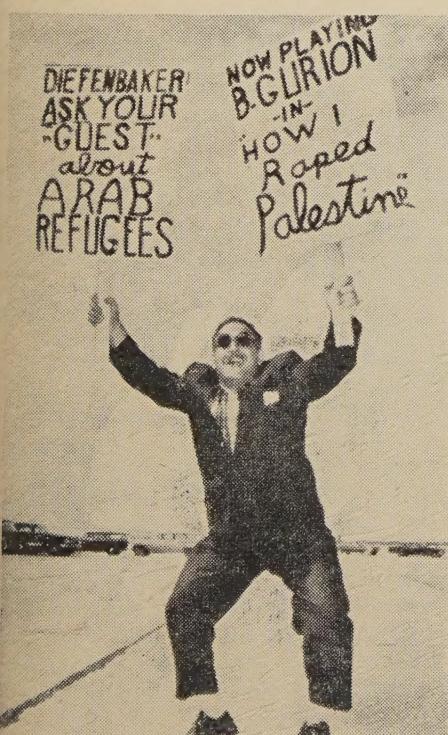
In his address to the Jewish communal leaders at the dinner to celebrate the ten years of the Israel Bond Drive, he went out of his way to reassure and placate American Jews about the role they were playing in the upbuilding of Israel.

Meeting with Churchill : And on Friday he would be in London to meet again with Macmillan and Lord Home, and later to call on Sir Winston Churchill.

Next week, the Israeli Premier will complete his extraordinary tour (which also included a long discussion with Dag Hammarskjold in New York which may be of considerable significance in days to come) by an official visit to the French President.

It will be a fitting end for his remarkable diplomatic demonstration which probably no other statesman in the world today could have played off the cuff so successfully.

A question : And then Ben-Gurion returns home to an Israel no longer internationally isolated, or diplomatically neglected and ideologically misunderstood. But will the prophet be recognised in his own country?



ARAB AIRPORT DEMONSTRATOR
Against Ben-Gurion or Nasser?

I.P.I.

SPOTLIGHT ON PRESS FREEDOM

JOURNALISTS' DIFFICULTIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

from our own correspondent

Tel Aviv:

Having spent many of the best years of their lives sitting through the boring preliminaries of other people's conferences, the many newspaper editors and journalists in the International Press Institute, which opened its Tenth General Assembly here on Tuesday, showed that they had profited from their experience by getting straight down to business.

After brief welcoming addresses from President Ben-Zvi, and Mayor Namir the newsmen from thirty countries in all five continents settled into their working sessions with an address on the business of the Institute from Executive Chairman Donald Tyerman, editor of the London *Economist*.

Noting that Israel had a free press, Tyerman commented that the I.P.I. would not be meeting in Tel Aviv if the situation was otherwise. However, it was the first time that the I.P.I. had held its sessions in a country with military censorship.

Absent friends: This was the second time in three years that the Assembly met "on a frontier with echoes of recent war and with undertones of present insecurity. In 1959 it was West Berlin: this year it is Tel Aviv." He expressed sadness at the fact that "some of our friends have decided they cannot join us," a reference to the absence of Lebanese and some pro-Arab members.

Tyerman's main theme was the help the I.P.I. could give to journalists everywhere who wanted a free press. He pointed to countries where the regimes did not allow a free press but where editors and journalists wanted honestly to subscribe to the principles of a free press.

"Do we cast them out, or do we attempt to assist them?" asked Tyerman. "This is the core of our problem in many countries today—even outside the communist area." Some of the new states emerging in Asia and Africa were not disposed, in the first flush of their in-



TYERMAN
"On the frontier"

dependence, to pursue the political ways of the established democracies. Their press was expected to follow the pattern of a single movement for national independence and not the voice of opposition.

No visa difficulties: The Middle East was shown up as a practical example of this restriction on press freedom in a special Assembly session devoted to the problems of reporting from this area.

Edouard Sablier of *Le Monde* was quite explicit. Egypt's Ministry of National Guidance, he said, was an extremely efficient organisation. Following its establishment, the difficulties which had been experienced by journalists in obtaining visas vanished almost immediately. The Egyptians were also wise enough to do away with censorship.

Syria worse, Saudi Arabia hopeless: But, continued Sablier, prudence was indispensable in reporting from Egypt because, if a foreign correspondent continued for any length of time to write in a way that displeased the authorities, he would not be granted another visa. News sources were also hard to find in Egypt, commented Sablier.

He reminded his audience that Egypt was only part of the U.A.R. In Syria the situation was much worse. There, all the news came from official sources. Saudi Arabia, he continued, was hopeless for the reporter. There were certain categories of people who could not get entry visas, and journalists were one of these.

Herzog defends censorship: Israel's

present system of military censorship was defended by Brigadier-General Hayim Herzog, the Israel Army's director of intelligence. "You are seated here," he told the delegates, "within range of enemy artillery. If this conference had taken place in Herzlia, as earlier planned, you would have been within range of field artillery. The Knesset in Jerusalem is within range of field mortars and some places in this country are within pistol range of the Arab states."

Under this constant threat, said Herzog, it would be less than prudent for Israel not to maintain military censorship. There was not a single country which had not introduced security censorship in times of national emergency. Nor, he said, did any responsible journalist doubt its necessity. If criticism was levelled from time to time, it concerned the manner of operations, but not censorship as such.

The method of operation, he said, was based on an agreement between the newspaper editors and the General Staff. There were three main principles. First to prevent the dissemination of information detrimental to security. Second, co-operation between the censorship and the press flowing from this premise. And third, the absence of political censorship.

Silent critics: The Army, said Herzog, had voluntarily foregone its power under the law and had agreed to have the censorship administered by a three-man arbitration council comprising a representative of the Army, the press and a neutral chairman (at present, the President of the Bar Association). No punishment for censorship violations could be imposed by the Army, only by the council.

Regarding the foreign press, Herzog claimed that there was only about one deletion for each one hundred cables presented. He affirmed that the censorship received all its orders through the military chain of command and that no one—not even a Cabinet Minister—had the right to give instructions.

In the question period that followed, there were only two questions asked and neither of them was directed to Herzog. Members of the Foreign Press Association in Israel, who were barred by the I.P.I. membership rules from attending as delegates, were not impressed by the omission. Some of them claimed that censorship in Israel had some political undertones, and that, if only they had been given the chance, there were a few questions they would have liked to put to Herzog.

At the end of the Assembly on Tuesday, delegates will tour the country for four days as guests of the Governmen-

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ISRAEL

MAKING TOO MUCH OF THE LIBERALS?

WISDOM OF MAPAI POLICY QUESTIONED

from Amos Ben-Vered

Jerusalem :

In a fan-shaped, spread-out of Mapai speakers across the country last weekend, one bogey presented for the inspection of the electorate loomed larger than all others: the bogey of the Liberals.

They were dragged into the picture on any and every excuse; in discussion of living standards, the security situation, foreign policy and, of course, "the struggle for democracy."

The emphasis on the Liberals is so marked that some observers experienced in public relations are asking themselves if Mapai is not doing the new party a service by fighting it so hard.

Down-to-earth issues : In the opinion of these observers, it would serve Mapai much better if they ignored the Liberals, rather than make them the rallying point for all anti-Mapai or dissatisfied voters.

While defence and foreign policy mat-

ISRAEL

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"Mapai Election Losses should not be regretted" ... Says Pinhas Lavon

Many within Mapai think so, though few dare to say so in public. True Democracy requires a proper balance of power and a possibility to change the ruling Party.

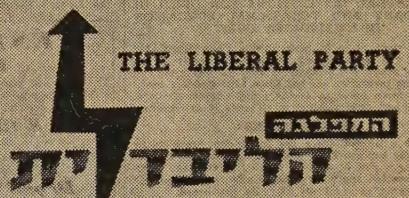
"The Unhappy Incident", the "Parasite", the internal quarrels have undermined Mapai's ability for leadership.

The State cannot allow itself the luxury of being utterly dependent on one party or one man.

Those who benefited over the years from the spoils of Power, naturally do not like to give them up, but even Mapai-Minister Abu Eban, admits that:

"Every citizen must welcome political consolidation, even if it takes place with the opposing party".

With the formation of the Liberal Party, the people of Israel have, for the first time, a New Alternative.



The country knows:
It's time for a change!

A LIBERAL LEAD FROM LAVON

One of the new party's election advertisements in the Israeli press

ters naturally occupy the interest of many voters, it is the more down-to-earth issues, like the high price of vegetables, that make budget-minded families grumble.

From the point of view of agriculture, the elections this year come at a most inopportune time: bang in the middle of a transition from a system of unplanned agriculture that led to surpluses and dumping, to a period in which the emphasis would be on industrial crops such as cotton or groundnuts.

Subsidies slashed : Over the weekend, Dayan grasped the nettle. He did not deny that there were less vegetables available now than in the corresponding periods last year or two years ago. He did not deny that prices were higher. But, he told his audience of Mapai youth, higher prices were essential so that the farmer could earn as much as the city-dweller.

The present temporary shortage was due to the "normal" winter just passed, Dayan pointed out, whereas for the past three years, winters had been unusually warm. Still, prices had risen only about ten per cent if one counted the whole range of agricultural goods.

Dayan also stressed that this year the subsidies for vegetables had been drastically cut by the Finance Ministry, which payed out only £63m. in all, as against £23m last year. This reduction to one seventh might have called for a deeper delving into the consumer's pocket.

Support from Haikal : In almost every

consideration there was a choice, he went on. In this case the choice had to be made between cheaper cucumbers and the settlement of the Negev.

One of the busiest speakers at the moment is Deputy Defence Minister Shimon Peres, and in one of his weekend speeches he announced that he had received support for one of his theses from unexpected quarters: Hassanein Heikal, editor of *al Ahram* and a confidant of Nasser, confirmed in an article in his paper that the Arabs would not be moved to change their policy by concessions on Israel's part.

Peres quoted Heikal as saying that Egypt would not be willing to make compromises with Israel even if the latter took back a number of Arab refugees or granted an Arab "corridor" in the Negev between Jordan and Egypt.

No one-sided concessions : Peres read out a section of Heikal's article, in which he said: "We agree to the first part of Peres' article, but we disagree with the second. We say as he does: Abdel Nasser will not abandon his firm decision (to attack Israel). We disagree with Peres' second conclusion, and we say: Abdel Nasser will never lose his ability (to mount the attack)."

This, said Peres, expressed the stand of Heikal and of Nasser in all its naked brutality. This was the truth, and on this Israel must base its future defence and security policy. There must be no one-

sided concessions and no appeasement.

The Liberals, for their part, attacked Mapai over the weekend for what they called the "security panic" that she was creating. Ido Cohen, M.K. and Itzhak Artzi, the secretary general of the Liberals, said that the sensitive security situation of the country was being exploited "by one party" for election purposes.

Credit claimed: A notable remark was made by Ishar Harari, M.K., speaking at a rally in Kiryat Motzkin near Haifa. The structure of Israel's society, he said, was that of a free, progressive and liberal society which did not favour class struggles. This, he contended, was because the General Zionists and the Progressives put their stamp on society to a greater degree than any other party and against the wishes of the socialists.

The main thrusts of Ahdut Avoda, which held a national convention in Haifa over the weekend, were also directed at Mapai, with the emphasis on the "Affair" which has not so far featured very prominently in the arguments of other parties.

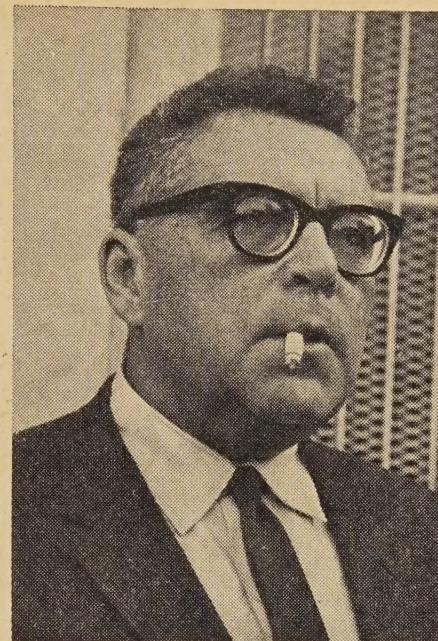
The thousand representatives, who claim to represent 36,000 members of Ahdut Avoda, unanimously adopted a manifesto written by Moshe Carmel (now editor of *Lamerhav*), which said among other things that the distribution of wealth in Israel was unjust, and a small segment of the population was growing richer, while insufficient funds were used for security, development, and other national needs. Despite previous rumours that he would appear, Pinhas Lavon did not attend the convention.

Second division: Menahem Beigin, speaking in Jerusalem to an audience of over 1,500, said that the elections would mark a milestone in the foreign policy of Israel, because of tremendous pressure brought on her from the outside to make her compromise with the Arabs. On the internal front, he said, there should be a distinction between economic and political forces; the income of the individual should not depend on his party card.

And Giora Josephtal, dismissing Ahdut Avoda criticism, said that this party had anyway been relegated to the second division.

BECKER ADVISES LAVON TO "THINK TWICE"

That there was nothing second class about the Histadrut was the central point of a statement made to a Mapai meeting in Jaffa by the labour federation's secretary general Aharon Becker. There could be no disharmony between Mapai and the Histadrut so long as Mapai stood at



PROGRESSIVES' HARARI
Stamp on society

the helm of both the government and the labour movement, he stated. They had identical interests.

Earlier, Becker had hit out at suggestions by his predecessor, Pinhas Lavon, that the head of the Arab Affairs Department, Nahum Yahalom, had been dismissed at the behest of the Prime Minister's Office. Becker advised Lavon to think twice before making such allegations and not to make public issues out of administrative matters.

"If the Histadrut Central Committee has made me responsible for the orderly operation of the Arab Affairs Department," said Becker, who is its chairman, "then it must allow me the freedom to choose the best men for the job."

At loggerheads: Investigation of Lavon's allegations, and of opposition charges—mainly Mapam—that Yahalom had been deposed because he favoured an end to military government in Arab areas, produced little evidence to support them. Yahalom, it transpired, had been at loggerheads with senior officials in his own department for months and it was becoming almost impossible for this side of Histadrut activities to be properly administered.

Lavon's suggestion that Yahalom was victimised because he was a known supporter of the Lavonist cause is nullified by the elevation to an important Histadrut post of another vocal Lavonist, Yona Yagol.

Becker has been engaged on another front, in opposing Mapam, Ahdut Avoda and Liberal demands that an all-party body be established to supervise the edi-

torial policies of *Davar*. He told the Central Committee on Sunday that, while *Davar* must be a faithful reflection of the Histadrut and provide a platform for its official policies, even if they were only approved by a majority, it was never intended that the paper be the official organ of the labour federation.

Only natural: Responsibility for the newspaper's policy, he stated, rested with the editorial board. This could not be construed in accordance with a party key. All the parties in the Histadrut had their own organs which often failed to publish official Histadrut statements and frequently distorted its activities. *Davar* had to report the views of the minority parties on various issues, but it was not obliged to publish opinions which were fundamentally in opposition to Histadrut policies.

Supporting him, *Davar* editor Haim Shurer said he would never allow the paper to become merely a daily bulletin



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of Histadrut activities, although the paper had to reflect its policies and publicise its official decisions.

ESHKOL REVEALS THE FUTURE

**"YOU HAVE NEVER BEEN
BETTER OFF"**

from our own correspondent

Tel Aviv :

Israelis had never had it so good, declared Finance Minister Levi Eshkol last week, when he addressed the Mapai Central Committee on "Our Way Forward in the Economic Development of the State". He noted that there was full employment in town and country, referred to the thirty per cent increase in industrial output over the last two years and the fifty per cent increase in electrical power produced, and summarised progress in other branches of the economy.

"Rapid growth is the keynote of our economic life," said Eshkol, pointing out that Israel's population was expected to reach $2\frac{1}{2}$ million in the next four or five years, and that this meant absorption of 200,000 immigrants as well as the natural increase in the population. This increase would call for an investment of some five to six billion pounds.

But even this colossal sum would not be enough by itself. By 1965 exports would have to be increased to \$750 million (£268 million), of which agricultural exports would account for \$120 million (1961 figure — \$70 million). The rest would come from increased industrial exports and the exploitation of the country's natural resources.

Accent on Negev : The accent of development during the next five years would be on the Negev. Five cities would be built or extended—Arad, Ir Habsor, Kfar Yeruham, Mitzpeh Ramon and Elath—and a network of communications built up to serve them. They would draw their life from the industry and agriculture of the Negev, and they would send their products overseas through the port of Ashdod, which would be constructed on the coast south of Tel Aviv.

Thousands of farms would be established on the loess soil of the Bsor region in the north-west of the Negev, which would see the greatest settlement effort of the coming decade, if not of this generation. They would draw their water supplies from the water pipeline bringing the Jordan to the south, the first stage of which would be completed within the next two or three years.

IN THE NEWS

POLITICS AND THE PRESS

IT IS NO small tribute to the Israeli press—and especially to some of its editors—that the Tenth Assembly of the International Press Institute should be meeting in Tel Aviv this week. Some 170 newspaper publishers, editors and international news agency executives from thirty countries have come together to discuss burning questions affecting the free press, especially in Africa and Asia. But one reason for the success of the I.P.I. is that—under Donald Tyerman, its forceful chairman—it has not lost itself in general principles: it pounces on the particular offenders against the freedom of the press; it names them, pinpoints the offences and demands explanations. The fuller report of the Assembly elsewhere in this issue illustrates this side of the I.P.I.'s work.

Israeli editors have been for some years actively engaged on the I.P.I. and the editor of *Ma'ariv*, Arieh Dissentchik, has played a leading role in the organisation of the conference. Unfortunately, as the chairman emphasised, some prominent I.P.I. members from other Middle Eastern countries refused to come. The Pakistanis stayed away at the last moment after the Israel Government had met all their requests; two Lebanese were supposed to arrive, one Indonesian editor did arrive.

But the real significance of the meeting is the impact it will have on Middle Eastern public opinion, and especially on that in Israel. The discussion on the Israeli military censorship may lead to a more rational and understanding application of strictly security measures; but more important, if anything, will be the seminar on the problems of reporting the Middle East. The studies on this subject which were prepared for the Institute and summarised on page 10, illustrate what happens when reporting is suborned to the needs of governments, foreign ministries or political parties. The Egyptian press is, as Holden's report shows, almost beyond hope. The same fate has already overtaken most other papers in the Arab world, except a few in the Lebanon.

But the Israelis cannot afford to be complacent on this topic. Except for *Haaretz*, every serious major daily paper is in effect controlled by a political party, and this inevitably produces special pres-

THE HAHAM "IS EXPECTED" DENIAL SURPRISES AMERICAN SEPHARDIM

from our New York correspondent

Reports from London that the Office of the Haham had denied any knowledge of Dr. Gaon's plans to accept an appointment in this country, surprised American Sephardi leaders, one of whom told your correspondent: "Dr. Gaon is supposed to come and his arrival is expected."

Officially, Congregation Shearith Israel refused to confirm or deny that he was invited, but synagogue officials said that, as far as they knew, he had made active preparations for his move to the U.S.

There is some confusion among the Sephardi leaders here as to whether Dr. Gaon will take up the spiritual leadership of the Congregation Shearith Israel, which already has a rabbi, but the prime intention is that he should serve as the unifying force for all the Sephardim in the U.S.

In view of the leading role that Shearith Israel plays within the Sephardi community, it is considered natural and understandable that the initiative in approaching the Haham should have come from members of that Congregation. It is also natural and understandable that he would be associated with that Congregation, even though he might not be formally inducted as its sole rabbi.

Association with Shearith Israel would certainly help him in the task of strengthening and co-ordin-



ating the communal endeavours of the American Sephardim which have suffered from lack of the kind of leadership which Dr. Gaon could supply.

As of Monday of this week, Dr. Gaon was most certainly expected to come to this country. Sephardi leaders believed that the denial from the Office of the Haham was based upon a technicality, the reasons for which would soon become clear. They had received no communication from London to indicate that Dr. Gaon had changed his plans.

sures on the independence and accuracy of the reporting. The I.P.I. meeting in Israel may now help to raise the standard, for the freedom of the press can in the end be maintained only by a responsible and independent press.

MAPAI AND GOLDMANN

A NUMBER OF recent articles in the Mapai press and by Mapai spokesmen have accused Dr. Nahum Goldmann of standing for a policy of making large-scale concessions to the Arabs as part of a peace settlement, and, in fact, Mapai propaganda tends to depict Goldmann as a kind of Jewish Chamberlain intent on appeasing the Arabs at Israel's expense. This is patently unfair and false. Goldmann has voiced some legitimate criticism of the inflexibility of Israel's foreign policy—especially in its presenta-

tion abroad. But he has said nothing to justify this Mapai campaign which can only do Mapai a great deal of harm, both at home and abroad.

By the same token, I hope that the Liberals will also reconsider their attack on Ben-Gurion. Two weeks ago they attacked him for his inflexibility and lack of initiative, and then, when he surprises them by a remarkable diplomatic *coup de théâtre*, they can think of nothing better than to abuse him and undermine his mission. I thought we had been told by Almogi and by the Liberal leaders that this was going to be an educational and constructive election campaign. It could do much good as such, but then let us be done with the cheap innuendo and unworthy accusations. It is time both sides gave expression to the more specific and concrete aspects of their foreign policy.

PRESS

EROSION OF THE FOURTH ESTATE

NEWSPAPER FREEDOM DIMINISHING QUANTITY IN MIDDLE EAST

To all effectual intents and purposes, there are only three countries in the Middle East with a press worthy of that name—Israel, the Lebanon and Egypt. And, with the trend to conformity, dullness and monotony in the Egyptian press following complete nationalisation, the prospects are that this list will soon be reduced to two.

President Nasser's decree nationalising all privately owned Egyptian (and Syrian) newspapers was issued in May 1960. It was predicated on the grounds that there was too little seriousness in the press and too much vulgarity.

In the words of David Holden, former Middle East correspondent of *The Times* (writing in *I.P.I. Report*, the monthly bulletin of the International Press Institute), "earnestness was in, ribaldry and frivolity—so beloved of the Egyptians of all people—were out. Also out, as it has proved since, were any kind of originality or journalistic flair."

"Mediocrity and incompetence": Worst hit by the nationalisation law (and, in Holden's view its primary target) were the twin brothers Mustafa and Ali Amin, owners, managers and chief editors of the *Akhbar el Yom* chain, the country's most successful newspapers.

They had not only wrought a technical and journalistic revolution in the Arabic popular press, but had also, on occasion, displayed an independence of outlook which clashed with President Nasser's ideas of press freedom. But worse than this, observed Holden, was perhaps their sheer success, as journalists and businessmen, in contrast with the failure of the government's own efforts in publishing.

Since December, when they were provisionally retired pending official inquiries into their alleged misconduct of the firm, the *Akhbar el Yom* organisation, reported Holden, has shown signs of slipping into the "trough of government mediocrity and incompetence . . . Enterprise is crushed, *esprit de corps* is sapped, and circulations are falling."

Foreign correspondents on a leash: But one unexpected result, from Nasser's



TEL AVIV HEADQUARTERS OF THE EVENING NEWSPAPER "MA'ARIV"

Plenty on weekdays, thousands more on Fridays

viewpoint at least, is that the suppression of potential public criticism has provoked more widespread private criticism of the regime than ever before, partly, Holden believes, because the nationalisation of the press has raised fears of further state intervention in private affairs and partly because so many ordinary Egyptians resent being deprived of the "oases of honest vulgarity which used to relieve the otherwise arid wastes of political propaganda in their newspapers."

"Without that little distraction, more of them are forced to look at the state of Nasser's Egypt—and after nearly nine years of the revolution, fewer of them like what they see."

In Lebanon, the multi-language press has almost unlimited freedom. But not so the foreign correspondent working there. While the local press comments without restraint on almost everything, foreign correspondents are not allowed similar licence. They cannot, for example, tell the true facts of Christian-Moslem friction, nor can they make offensive remarks about Lebanon's next-door neighbour, Syria.

Two or three a day: Foreign newspapers entering the country are closely examined for friendly references to Israel and these are torn out before they reach the reader. *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Harry B. Ellis reports instances in which nothing more damaging than a travel advertisement for Israel has been taken out.

The Lebanese are avid newspaper readers. Between them, the country's 1½ million inhabitants consume more than 100 daily, weekly and monthly publications, some of the dailies—but not many—having circulation figures approaching

the 10,000 range, which is noteworthy for a country of this size. In addition, a vast range of foreign newspapers are imported and *Paris Match* correspondent Raymond Loir has observed that "rare is the inhabitant of the Lebanon who does not read two or three papers a day."

But the Israelis take the palm for the range of publications, not surprising in view of the various national origins represented by its people. There are 24 daily papers alone, and more than 120 weekly, bi-weekly and monthly magazines and journals. Nine of the dailies are in languages other than Hebrew, two in German, and one each in English, Arabic, Yiddish, Hungarian, Rumanian, Polish and French. Five of them have Mapai backing in one way or another and one is owned by the Histadrut.

Something in common: *Ha'aretz* stands head and shoulders above the others, not only by virtue of its independence from political control but also for the fact that it is the country's oldest newspaper, having been established in 1919. But the largest circulation is held by the afternoon paper *Ma'ariv* which claims an audited sale of more than 76,000 copies on weekdays and of nearly 94,000 on Fridays when it carries a weekend supplement.

One thing the Israeli press shares in common with the press in the neighbouring Arab countries is censorship, though this has the merit of being based on security and not political considerations. There have been occasions, in the view of critics, when security has been used as an excuse for political censorship, but the complaints have been few, taking into account the excesses which many Israeli newspapers allow themselves.

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TUNISIA

JEWS FEAR FOR THEIR FUTURE

PRETENCE OF TOLERANCE ABANDONED

from our own correspondent

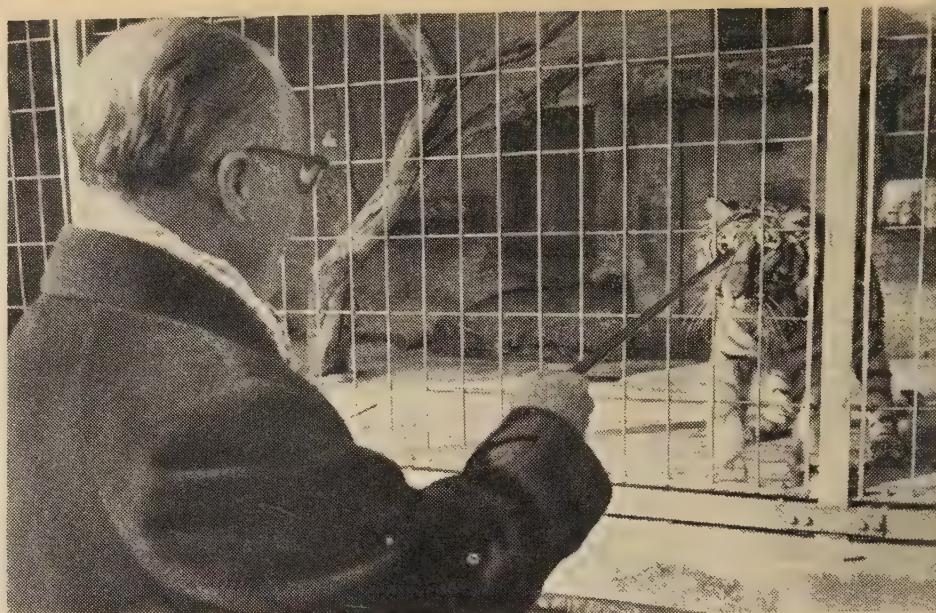
Tunis :

Within only a matter of hours of President Bourguiba's hostile references to Israel at his New York press conference, there was a growing murmur of support from Tunisia's Moslem population. Following his further references in London and the answering comments from Ben-Gurion, this murmur has swelled to openly voiced criticism not only of Israel but also of Jews in general.

It was not that these sentiments did not exist before, but that they had previously been hushed by Bourguiba himself who, on one occasion, was criticised for referring to Jews as "our brothers" during a speech in Sfax. Now there is no disguising the feelings which have been pent up in Tunisian breasts for a long time.

The old excuse that "we are more tolerant than the others" when it comes to the subject of Jews is an excuse no longer and, suddenly, the Tunisians find themselves at one with "the others" on this question. This applies especially to Sahilis, those from the south who have come to the city in search of work.

Impetus to emigration: Behind the emotional urge, there is unmistakable



BOURGUIBA TAUNTS THE TIGER

Where the President leads the people follow—has he gone too far?

anger at the fact that Jews engage freely and openly in commerce and banking, though the additional fact that the hated Jerbian Moslem sect are similarly engaged is overlooked. Until now, there has been a tendency to let this Jewish "freedom" continue for as long as Bourguiba wanted it that way. But he has been given frequent reminders that this "freedom" is not popular and that, were anyone to take his place, it would have to end.

The mood is certainly anti-Jewish first and only then anti-Israel. It started off by being primarily anti-Jewish for economic reasons, but has since been exploited for reasons of internal propaganda. Those many Jews who have all along refused to see the warning signs must now face up to the fact of the changed situation, though there is yet a chance that Bourguiba might try to set things to rights when he sees how far they have gone.

But his recent speeches have given impetus to those who wanted to leave and will destroy confidence among those who were prepared to stay. Hundreds of Jewish families of French and Italian nationality will probably leave this year in the wake of those who have already gone. Every family that goes, taking with it whatever small amount of capital and skill it may have, brings nearer the threat of devaluation, a by-product of prevailing attitudes which some Tunisians may yet come to regret.

Was Ben-Gurion wrong? In liberal Tunisian circles, which still have some influence, Ben-Gurion has come under strong criticism for replying in the Israeli

parliament to Bourguiba's New York outburst. By doing so, they argue, Ben-Gurion has placed Bourguiba into the same category as Nasser and Kassem on the question of Israel. By picking on a statement which *might* have been intended for local Arab consumption, Ben-Gurion has widened the field of discussion and placed Bourguiba into a category which he wished to avoid.

However, whatever Bourguiba's intentions and the wisdom of Ben-Gurion's replying, the new situation is being seized upon with delight by the Arab League which now spreads its wings from the Persian Gulf to Morocco. Once its activities were confined to the axis Cairo-Baghdad. Today it is at work everywhere and is fuelled by statements such as those we have heard lately, statements which serve to cement Arab sympathies on any given issue.

This time it is the easy one of Israel. The common theme heard on all sides is: first Algeria, then Israel. It is amazing how a peasant in the Syrian hinterland and a labourer in Sfax will both speak with the same voice on these two topics, as if the thousands of miles which separated them did not exist. The dialect, the accent may be different, but the ideas, even the words, sentences and slogans are exactly the same.

Behind the veil: For the Jews of Tunisia, the new situation is a frightening one. But perhaps the description "new" is incorrect. They have the lessons of neighbouring Arab countries to draw upon and they can hardly be blamed if now they clearly see the writing on the wall.

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AFRO-ASIA

CASABLANCA RESOLUTION ON THE SHELF?

ISRAELIS PLAN NEW HOME FOR NKRUMAH

from our own correspondent

Jerusalem :

Despite the strongly anti-Israel terms of the Casablanca Conference resolution, and the pressures subsequently brought by the U.A.R. on the signatories to translate their condemnation into political policy, Israel's economic ties with the major signatory, Ghana, remain firmly established.

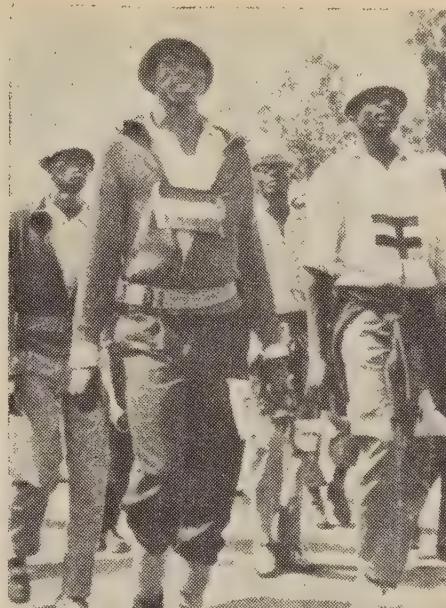
So much so, that a subsidiary of the Histadrut building company Solel Boneh has been entrusted with the planning of President Nkrumah's official residence and a special housing project in Accra for the accommodation of foreign ambassadors. The architects, engineers and advisers engaged in this latter enterprise must be forgiven the mischievous thought that some of these houses might be occupied by Arab envoys.

Elsewhere in Africa and Asia, Israeli technical services are in growing demand. The same Solel Boneh subsidiary is designing the parliament building for newly independent Sierra Leone, hotels and university buildings in Nigeria, and the Defence Ministry offices and naval and military academy in Burma.

Mali wants advice : Israel's military contacts with the two continents have developed at an even faster pace. Details given recently by Deputy Defence Minister Shimon Peres revealed that Sierra Leone has already purchased consignments of the far-famed Uzi machine-guns. A senior officer from Sierra Leone is due in Israel soon and the new African nation has already displayed considerable interest in the Jewish State's pioneering fighting youth and the youth corps.

The pioneering fighting youth movement (which combines statutory military training with national service in agricultural and other pioneering work) has also attracted the interest of Togo, where an Israeli officer is advising on the establishment of a brigade along similar lines.

Senegal has asked for three youth corps officers to be sent as instructors at this year's African youth camp in that country. Ghana, too, has organised youth movements along similar lines and Israelis are assisting in the direction of the nautical school there. Mali, another



AFRICA ON THE MARCH
Nigerians and Liberians in Israel's cross-country walk

signatory to the Casablanca Conference resolution, has asked for Israeli advice in the establishment of an aviation school.

Strong links with Burma: The Ivory Coast Ministry of Agriculture has asked for instructors to assist in the formation of pre-military service youth organisations along Israeli lines.

But it is with Burma that Israel's military ties are closest. As Peres put it, the co-operation between the two countries "comprises almost everything," including supplies for the Burmese armed forces. Israel was recently awarded contracts for the supply of accoutrements and individual equipment and vehicle spare parts worth £100,000. Last week, a training officer from the Burmese Defence Ministry visited Israel and asked for an Israeli officer to provide training in special subjects. The Israelis were also requested to loan Burma a number of experts to develop the country's military industry.

This is one aspect of Israeli enterprise in which massive achievements have been recorded. Annual exports of material and arms by Israel's military industry total between \$4m. and \$5m., to which must be added the exports by the aircraft industry amounting to approximately \$3m.

THE END OF BANDUNG? CAIRO CAN'T SWAY AFRO-ASIANS

When it comes to influencing international affairs in a manner acceptable to Cairo, the groupment of Afro-Asian states

which was at one time identified as the "Bandung bloc" is ineffectual. This has now been conceded by Hassanein Haikal, chief editor of the Cairo newspaper *al Ahram* and President Nasser's main mouthpiece.

It is this inability to create an Afro-Asian will to action, Haikal explained last week, which lay behind the decision to call a conference of the "non-aligned states," a phrase which has been adopted in place of positive neutrality.

The fact that many important and decisive events were about to take place in relations between East and West, demanded the existence of a third and neutral party in order to "open an impartial role for the peaceful development of events," Haikal stated.

"U.N. needs saving": Asking whether the U.N. could not do something to safeguard the world against the dangers which threatened it, Haikal pointed out that the U.N. was simply a group of states which was itself in the midst of two crises, one arising from Kruschev's demand for the replacement of Hammarskjold by a three-member secretariat, and the other from America's opposition to the admission of communist China. "The U.N.," commented Haikal, "is now incapable of saving anyone. It needs someone to save it."

(Continued on p. 14)

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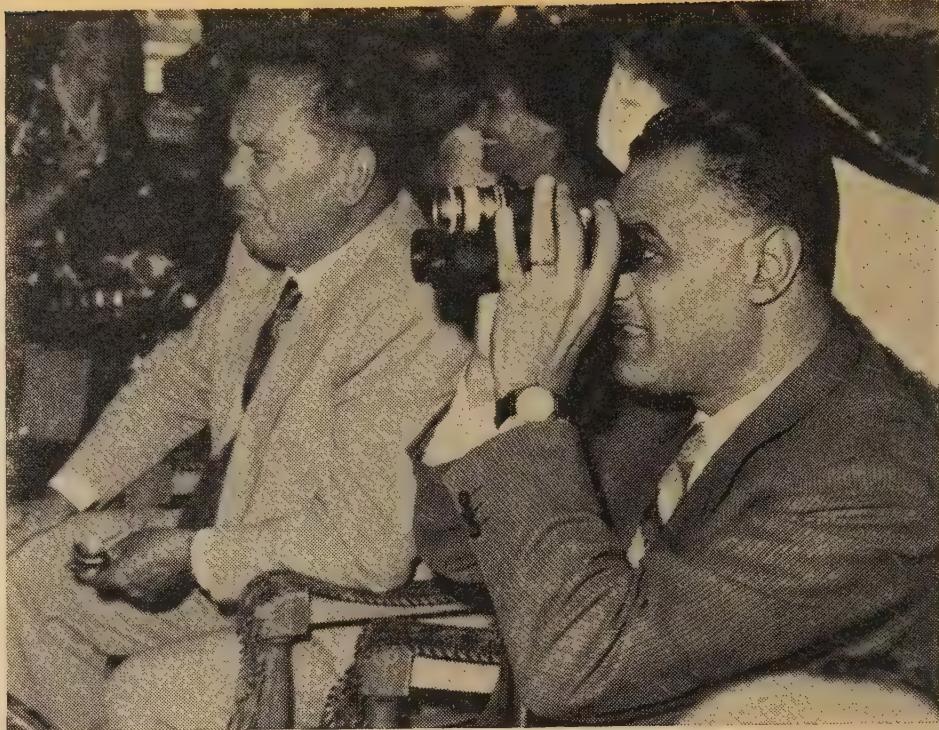
Why was it that the Bandung states could not be called upon to take action?

The circumstances of each of the Bandung countries and its geographical situation imposed certain commitments which controlled its movements, Haikal went on. For example, when Japan said right, China said left. If India said east, Pakistan said west. The rest followed the same line and, hence, it had become difficult to obtain an "Afro-Asian will to act." Among the independent states of Africa there were some which were tied to France, some which were tied to Britain "and states which look for freedom." It was also difficult, therefore, to create even a joint African will to action.

Unfortunate level: However, the problems of the world were not restricted to Asia and Africa. The main problem was war and peace "and, therefore, discussion of this problem on an Afro-Asian level is unfortunate. Consequently, there should be unfettered international freedom to take action . . . the meeting of leaders of the non-aligned states is necessary for everybody and for peace, the ultimate object of mankind."

"KENNEDY LETTER" CAUSES FLUTTER AGENDA FOR PALESTINE EXPERTS' MEETING

Cairo last week officially confirmed the JEWISH OBSERVER report (see issue of May 5) of the topics to be considered by the meeting of the Arab League Experts' Committee on Palestine, which has been entrusted with completing plans for the



A DIM VIEW OF AFRO-ASIA
A neutralism too positive—non-alignment makes its bow

"final solution to the Israel problem."

The Middle East News Agency, an adjunct of the U.A.R.'s propaganda apparatus, reported that the main topics to be discussed by the "experts" would include the drawing up of a joint plan to "face Israeli aggression," another to "ensure the return of the Palestinians . . . and enable the Palestinian Arabs to work to retrieve their homeland", proposals for the establishment of a unified Palestinian army, the strengthening of the

anti-Israel boycott movement and consideration of Israel's plan for diversion of the Jordan waters.

On the international level, the meeting would consider relations between Arab states and those supplying financial, economic, political and military aid to Israel, "Israeli infiltration into Africa and Asia," measures to halt Jewish immigration and "foreign intervention in Middle East affairs under the pretext of the Palestine question."

What did it say? They would also discuss how best to organise the Arab states at the U.N. so as to obtain maximum publicity for their case on Palestine. Under this heading would come the "treatment of Arabs in Israel" and the question of Arab funds and properties said to be in the hands of the Israelis.

However, before they really get down to any of these topics, the "experts" are going to have to dispose of the question of a letter which is rumoured to have been sent by President Kennedy to King Saud. Reports circulating in Cairo this week say that Saud is "very angry" about the contents of the letter and wants the "experts" to consider it before they go on to anything else.

This the experts would be only too delighted to do—they, in common with every other Arab outside of Saud's immediate entourage, have no idea what it contains. And, for once, your correspondent must report himself similarly placed.

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SPORT

AMBASSADORS OR EMIGRANTS?

BIG JOB FACES NEW SPORTS COMMISSIONER

from Paul Kohn

Tel Aviv:

Top international footballers leaving Israel for Australia and accusations of "shamateurism" among the rest have created a new crisis in the country's sport. This, added to recent setbacks in international encounters, has put Israel's sport back in the doldrums.

To Israelis this situation is now more painful than ever, because, for the previous eighteen months, soccer had shown the way out of the rut.

The Hungarian football trainer Giula Mandy proved that, with proper handling, Israel's healthy youth had a sports potential that could be developed into a force to be reckoned with. But Mandy has been allowed to get his own way only up to a point, and from there on the same old band of "organisers" are running affairs.

International victories: Until the summer of 1959, Israel's sports teams had done little in international competition to warrant being considered serious opposition. It was then that Mandy was engaged to coach the national soccer team.

He showed a strong hand and a new approach—to oust politics from the football he was handling. He built his team, taught the players modern soccer, and led them to international victories—most notable being the 4:0 win over the England Under-23 team, 2:1 over Yugoslavia in Belgrade and capture of the West Asian Championships.

Mandy became a national hero—even Prime Minister Ben-Gurion wrote him a letter of appreciation—and all sports in Israel gained inspiration and impetus. But Mandy even then issued a warning: let the players now earn a normal living wage, where they can also get time off for training.

Player left for S. Africa: National jubilation gave way to amazement when Rafi Levy, Israel's centre-forward and leading goal scorer, left to play soccer in South Africa. Despite being voted 1960 "Sportsman of the Year," he was nowhere a permanent employee and hardly made ends meet as a garage hand.

He returned to Israel when promised

a better job. But that is as far as it went, despite the repeated pleadings of Mandy.

In February, internationals Rafi Levy and Moshe Haldi took off to play soccer in Australia for Sydney Hakoah. Glowing success reports have been received, and now the Australian bait has been dangled before other top Israel footballers, including the international team captain, Nahum Stelmach.

"Provincialism": Israel's football fans have been stunned, and for once the football functionaries moved fast—but in the wrong direction, many fear. The Football Association has laid down that players joining teams abroad will not be allowed to play again in Israel, and it will take steps to prevent Australia being accepted into F.I.F.A., the international soccer federation, which that country wishes to join.

In a letter to the *Jerusalem Post*, Zvi Harmor of Tel Aviv, writes: "The decision of the Israel F.A. to impose sanctions on soccer players wishing to widen their horizons is a provincialism that harks back to the *shtetlach* of another age . . . The mistake the footballers have made is to choose Australia, and a Jewish team. Had they signed up for Lagos or Sierra Leone they would have been seen off at the airport by the Minister of Sport . . . If the F.A. is anxious about the future of sport in this country, the right approach would be to introduce more of it into the schools and youth clubs."

Dr. Solomon Goldberg of Sydney wrote to the same paper that ". . . the players were invited to Australia as ambassadors of goodwill. In this respect they do not differ from the experts in other fields who are sent to such countries as Burma. Who would dream of accusing such experts or their sponsors of disloyalty to Israel!"

"Sham amateurism": Into the middle of everything, District Court Judge Joseph Lamm, a former President of the Football Association, threw a bombshell.

He declared in court that claims that Israel's football was amateur were nothing but sham. Players, he stated, were getting financial aid from their clubs, contrary to the rules of amateurism.

"Financial aid" in the form of loans, fares paid when they do not travel, compensation for lost working days, pocket money and so forth were alleged to have been offered to footballers.

Soccer crisis: More openly, professional trainers have appeared as members of the teams they train, the most obvious example being Zladko Czailowsky, the Yugoslav international, who played for Haifa Hapoel.

Judge Lamm, supported by many soc-



ISRAEL V. ENGLAND UNDER-23 TEAM
Where the youngsters score

cer fans, came out openly in favour of permitting professional footballers to play in Israel.

This crisis in soccer has been clearly reflected on the playing fields, and many of the country's best players have obviously been well below their usual form in league games. No one knows which of them are considering offers to play abroad.

Basketball in doldrums: Mandy, too, seems disheartened by these developments, and the Israel Selected gave its poorest showing to lose 2:0 to Chelsea earlier this month. Prospects are not rosy for the World Cup encounters against Italy in the autumn.

Sports fans' gloom was deepened by the unhappy showing of the Israel team in the European basketball championships in Belgrade this month. Israel could have done better than its 11th place (among 19 countries), had its men been in better physical condition, better prepared, better disciplined, and better led to show more will to win. The performance was one of Israel's basketballers' worst ever.

However, the picture is not all black. An all-out effort to improve the country's sporting atmosphere is expected from Reuben Daphni, the new Commissioner of Sport, appointed by Education Minister Abba Eban.

Need for younger men: Daphni is already well aware of the sport situation in the country. One of his first and most difficult tasks will be to remove some of the tired functionaries who still hold tight to the reins of sport, without knowing where to direct it.

The feeling is widely held that the time has come for a cadre of younger men, energetic and knowledgeable, to take over and tidy up the mess Israel sport has got itself into.



RAEL ENTERPRISE

SAPIR HERE TO "SELL ISRAEL"

LIBERAL INVESTMENT LAWS AN ENTICEMENT

from Yohanan Ramati

London :

With British membership in the European Common Market becoming more likely every day and with near-boom conditions on many home markets, what can there possibly be about Israel to attract the interest of the British investor?

A lot, is the simple answer of Israel's bustling Minister of Commerce and Industry, Pinhas Sapir, who arrives here this week with the declared aim of stimulating Anglo-Israel trade and investments in projects likely to benefit both countries. He will be taking his briefcase full of money-making ideas on a provincial tour which will include Brighton, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Cardiff and Glasgow.

Sapir is not the kind of man to embark on such a trip if he were not optimistic about the prospects. And he has reason for his optimism. During the last two years, there has been increasing interest in Britain in investing in Israel. Agreements to erect factories for the metal industry have been signed, and substantial investments have been registered in other branches of the economy.

Progress of Anglo-Israel Securities : Contacts and negotiations about the possibility of erecting additional industrial plants in Israel with the aid of British capital are under way. The gain accruing to Britain from such investments, which are made in various forms

permitted under British law, is in the form of royalties for know-how, freely transferable profits and larger sales of raw materials to Israel. What is more, the Israel investment laws are among the most liberal in the world today.

The fact that Israel is now regarded in British financial circles as an economically and politically stable country, constitutes an attraction for both Jewish and non-Jewish potential investors. The good profits shown by existing enterprises are another favourable factor.

Marked progress has already been made in the sphere of British investment in Israeli securities. This is partly due to the launching of Anglo-Israel Securities Limited, which has finally succeeded in enabling the small investor to dip into the Israel security market.

Rights issue possible : Israel Securities Ltd., started operations in August of last year, on the unit trust principle. Its capital has been invested in all kinds of Israeli shares, the risk being spread. The number of shareholders has already reached 1,500, and the entire capital of £1 million is paid up.

Investments were made in linked securities (22½ per cent of the funds invested); ordinary shares of banks, commercial companies, industrial companies, and land development companies, etc. (45½ per cent); preferred ordinary shares (12½ per cent); and fixed interest debentures with right to convert into equities (19½ per cent).

The amount of dividend paid on the eight-month period August 1960 to end of March 1961 was 3½ per cent, representing an annual yield of just over 5 per cent. Similar yields are expected in the future. This compares favourably with the average yield of securities quoted on the London Stock Exchange and there may also be possibilities of a rights issue in the future.

Devaluation doubts : The achievements of Israel Securities Ltd. are most encouraging, yet there are still hesitations in certain circles about investing in Israel, caused chiefly by suspicions that the much talked-about devaluation of the Israel pound may take place after all, and that it is therefore "better to wait a little".

Normally, shares do not rise immediately to the full amount of a devaluation, so—assuming the correctness of the premise—this is a valid business consideration. Though there are no indications whatever of a devaluation just now, there can be no doubt but that a decision to devalue would stimulate investments.

Some doubts are also created by the relatively small size of the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange. For instance, share quotations

tend to fluctuate sharply as a result of a small surplus of supply or demand during a single day of trading. The recent boom (which boosted the prices of some ordinary shares to levels 200 to 800 per cent above those of three years ago) has also caused a certain amount of speculation in new share issues, which tend to be heavily oversubscribed and their opening prices often far exceed the price of issue.

Seeking more positive approach : A special committee has been appointed by the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange to submit recommendations in connection with these and other problems. This will also re-define the obligations of companies registered at the Stock Exchange to their shareholders, particularly as regards the obligations to supply detailed information at regular intervals.

Altogether, the prospects of investments in quoted securities from abroad are good. As regards British investments in the form of transfer of equipment and machinery for new plants, these require special permits from the Bank of England. Such permits are not always granted, though serious investors investing in undertakings of a type with which they are familiar in this country normally do not experience serious trouble in obtaining them.

By and large, British Government policy has tended to encourage investments in the Commonwealth rather than foreign countries. It remains to be seen whether Sapir will succeed in creating a more positive approach to the establishment of new British enterprises in Israel.

WHERE SAPIR WILL BE — AND WHEN

The itinerary worked out for Sapir during his week's visit is as follows: Brighton and London, June 1; Glasgow, June 2; Leeds, June 4; Liverpool, June 5; Cardiff, June 6; Sheffield, June 7; Manchester, June 8.

P.E.C. STOCK OFFER INVESTING IN DEVELOPMENT AND EXPORTS

The Palestine Economic Corporation is prepared to accept State of Israel Bonds in payment for the 43,496 shares of P.E.C. common stock it has put on offer in the United States.

Each \$25 unit of stock is being offered at par, and the whole issue will be worth \$1,087,400 (£388,000). The Corporation's prospectus shows that there were 539,982 units of common stock outstanding last December, and assets totalled over \$184 million (£6,536,000). P.E.C.'s last dividend to stock-holders was \$1.25 (8s. 10d.) a share.

BOOKS

JOEL BRAND: A SECOND OPINION

EICHMANN IN HUNGARY, a collection of documents edited by Jeno Levai; 294 pp., illustrated; published (in English) by the *Pannonia Press*, Budapest; no price.

Although there is an element of propaganda in this collection of documents, interspersed with informed comment, this volume comes at an opportune moment. For Mr. Levai knows this Hungarian material better than most people. It was largely due to his Black Book on the Hungarian deportations published during the last war (in Hungarian) that neutral and allied opinion became fully aware of Eichmann's activities.

In this book he has, however, drawn on many different sources to underline the indictment of Eichmann and his collaborators. And it is particularly welcome for spreading the net rather wider than the prosecution appears to be doing at the trial in Jerusalem. The documents and references to Globke and von Thadden show them in a much more incriminating light than their apologists have allowed. Globke is shown in close contact with Eichmann and directly connected with the resettlement of the Czechoslovak Jews. Von Thadden (who is now being interrogated in Germany as a witness for Eich-

mann) seems to have played a quite uninhibited part in the deportations and killings.

There are some very useful documents in this book, such as the full minutes of the Wannsee Conference which launched the Final Solution on its deadly course. This shows clearly that the Nazi leaders saw no limit to this execution. The only exception were the American Jews. In Europe, 33,000 British and 18,000 Swiss Jews were included in the 11 million that were to be "settled." So were the five million Jews estimated by the members of the conference to be living under Soviet rule.

Other significant features emerge from this material. But none more so than the documents showing that the liquidation of Hungarian Jewry had been approved by Eichmann as early as May and June of 1940, even before the departure of the Brand mission. Levai gives his own estimate of the part played by Brand which does not quite tally with Brand's own, or even with that of the Jewish Agency leaders. He also stresses, as did Kastner in his report to the Jewish Agency, that it was Eichmann who picked Brand for his envoy and not the Jewish Community Council, and that during the decisive two days when Brand was briefed by Eichmann he had Kastner locked up and out of circulation.

The book is, however, frankly political; which does it no harm. It has some useful information about the past and the present. It lists a number of prominent Nazis who hold high office in Western Germany (but omits those in Eastern Germany). Within this important limitation, this is one of the most significant documentary contributions to the great debate which will certainly follow after the Eichmann trial is over.

Jon Kimche

WHAT REVOLUTION?

THE ARAB REVIVAL, by Francesco Gabrieli; 170 pp., index, maps; (*Thames and Hudson*) 18s.

After James Cameron's *The African Revolution*, Professor Gabrieli's *The Arab Revival*, a noteworthy distinction in terminology between two books both of which belong in this enterprising publisher's series entitled "The Great Revolutions." Professor Gabrieli's title presupposes an Arab revolution, but in the sense in which Africa is today in revolt, or in which the Chinese, French, Russian and Spanish revolutions (other titles in the series) took place, the Arab revolu-

tion, it seems, has yet to dawn. Does Professor Gabrieli find it in what he terms "the golden age of Arab power," the seventh and eighth century invasion of Asia and Europe which J. J. Saunders has described as that "tremendous avalanche of aggression"? Or does he see it in the imposition of a great mediaeval culture between the ninth and thirteenth centuries on the lands under Arab conquest? In its effects, this cultural revolution made its impact not on the conquerors but on the conquered. Or, taking revolution in its modern historical sense, how have the conditions of the Arab masses of the time of the Omayads and Abassids and of Kassem and Nasser changed for better or worse? In this sense, and the only sense in which a historian can justify his presupposition of revolution, Professor Gabrieli fails to satisfy us.

But for the rest, he has, within a very few pages, managed to convey a picture of contemporary Arab history which is both expert in its selection of what is worth relating and valuable in its assessment of what is worth criticising. It is not a work which will find ready acceptance amongst unquestioning Zionists (Gabrieli finds it difficult to differentiate between Arab terrorists and those he terms Jewish terrorists), but for the intelligent reader in search of historical explanations for contemporary events in the Arab world, he has performed a most laudable service. He admires much in the Arab character and in the Arab past. But he is also a severe critic, not least of the path down which some nationalist leaders are taking their peoples.

Geoffrey D. Paul

(Books continued on page 18)

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ALL OF HERZL

HERZL YEARBOOK VOL. 3, edited by Raphael Patai; 280 pp.; (*The Herzl Press*) \$5.

Herzl, of whom so many of us knew so very little only a short while ago, now seems in danger of becoming too well known. Offhand, this reviewer can think of seven volumes dealing with his life and has come across at least ten times that number of articles in recent years. Some of them are reprinted here, indeed a great deal of the material is familiar to collectors of Herziana to whom this latest volume of the *Herzl Yearbook* will probably have the greatest appeal.

There is a lot to be said for portraying a great man replete with warts, but when, as in this volume, we are presented with an unpublished note of no consequence, written in reply to a fan letter, we are confronted with the prospect of also becoming familiar with his pimples. There really seems no point in publishing just for the sake of publishing. By all means let us have new material on Herzl, but only provided its adds something new to our knowledge of the man.

G.D.P.

LETTER

WHY DOV JOSEPH RESIGNED

Sir,—In your issue of May 12, your Jerusalem correspondent terminates his report on "Mr. Pinkus's Problem" with the question "Can he succeed where Joseph was compelled to admit defeat?"

Your correspondent is apparently mistaken as to the reasons for my resignation as Treasurer of the Jewish Agency. I never admitted defeat, nor was I defeated. The truth is, as I informed the last Zionist Congress, that the Treasury of the Jewish Agency succeeded in implementing the expenditure budgets of the Jewish Agency during the four years of my tenure of office to the extent of 99.7 per cent, notwithstanding the fact that the income budget was realised only to the extent of some 89 per cent. Our Treasury had to find the means of financing the deficit, and succeeded in doing so.

I resigned because I was not prepared to continue to implement, albeit successfully, a financial policy to which I had consistently objected, since I considered it harmful to the interests of the Agency that such a policy be continued any longer.

Dov Joseph

Executive of the Jewish Agency,
Jerusalem, Israel.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Saturday, June 3
MAPAM DISCUSSION GROUP. 37 Broadhurst Gardens, N.W.6. "The Road to Jewish-Arab Peace". introduced by Prof. Norman Bentwich and Fenner Brockway. 8.0 p.m.

Sunday, June 4
LONDON ADVISORY COUNCIL. 77 Great Russell Street, W.C.1. 10.15 a.m.

Monday, June 5
ILFORD Z.S. 99a Cranbrook Road, Ilford (by courtesy of Mr. A. Gerecht). Film Festival. 8.15 p.m.

Tuesday, June 6
THEODOR HERZL Z.S. Zion House, 57 Eton Avenue, N.W.3. "Living Newspaper". Contributors include: Mrs. Ella Frankel, Uri Carin, Philip Cohen, E. S. Frankel. 8.15 p.m.

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JPA-JNF NEWS

Prepared by JPA/JNF Public Relations Department, 4 St. George Street, Hanover Square, W.I. Hyde Park 2286/7

IN THE LONDON SUBURBS

Those who have come to look upon J.P.A. as large contributors at large gatherings (and large dinners!) would do well to have followed Rachel Hubner, Trevor Chinn and others as they toured the small Jewish centres in the London suburbs during April and May.

This is where the campaign really matters. Here are the men and women of modest means, and the committee officers who take a bus ride to collect a guinea, and the warm atmosphere of Israel brought into draughty communal halls.

Many receptions were timed for the 13th anniversary of Israel's independence.

Barking: At Barking and Becontree, Rachel Hubner spoke of the problems of immigrant integration and the need for economic self-sufficiency. She was the guest at a cocktail party with Mr. and Mrs. H. D. Glass as hosts. A. Daren presided. Cllr. A. J. Shaw and Rev. L. Sober also spoke and S. W. Gold, J.P.A. provincial director, led an appeal that resulted in £600 being raised.

Brixton and Chelsea: The Brixton and the Chelsea committees had "double feature" programmes, for in addition to Rachel Hubner, Trevor Chinn was present to give his own dynamism to the appeal. Brixton's reception was also in honour of the return from Israel of Dayan and Mrs. M. Steinberg. The chairman was H. Stern and other speakers were Dr. A. B. Osborne and Rev. R. Turner. The result of the appeal was £1,400. Chelsea had Mr. and Mrs. Michael Laurie as hosts and W. E. Wolff as an additional speaker. Outcome: £1,500.

Catford: Mrs. Hubner and Mr. Chinn then moved on to a West Ham thanksgiving service conducted by Rev. G. Schneider, at which Dr. H. L. Selwyn presided and £450 was raised, and a cocktail reception given by the Catford and Bromley committee with M. Levy and M. Freedman as supporting speakers. The hosts were Mr. and Mrs. I. Harris and T. Stanton was in the Chair. A sum of £680 was subscribed.

Kingston: The Israeli guest was accompanied by S. W. Gold at Kingston and Surbiton, when she addressed a meeting that took place at the home of Mr. and Mrs. C. M. Lichtenfeld. P. Pechersky presided and Miss S. Lilley

also spoke. The sum realised was £720.

It will be recalled that these combined suburban committees had met in conference in February when their specific campaign problems were hammered out. This fund-raising round-up makes gratifying reading largely because of the follow-through on the conference resolutions comprised in this report.

Woolwich: Woolwich proved a good example of this. Here, D. Goodman presided at a platform which included Lady Janner and S. W. Gold. In his appeal, Mr. Gold emphasised the stress laid on immigration, and the defence expenditure incurred at all times. Lady Janner felt that the North African situation was of such urgency that the Jews of those countries had to be taken to Israel as speedily as was possible. Other speakers were D. Siever, Rev. G. Rosenberg, S. King and I. Ragol-Levy. Receipts for the evening totalled £250.

Trevor Chinn's plea to the Croydon committee brought in £1,150 at a reception presided over by A. C. Millett at which Mr. and Mrs. Millett were hosts. J. Goodman also spoke.

The development of Israel in the area of agriculture and irrigation was discussed by David Prieskel, M.D., at the Highams Park and Chingford committee's reception. Dr. Cicely Blair presided and S. Romer, Dr. J. Jacobs and Rev. P. T. Greenberg were other speakers, and

£540 was raised.

Ealing: A Golden Book certificate was presented to Mr. and Mrs. E. J. Speyer at an Ealing supper, at which Mr. and Mrs. Michael Levy were hosts. A grove of 70 trees was presented to Mr. Levy in honour of his 70th birthday. Shlomo Temkin, the guest speaker, dealt with Israel's economy in his address and briefly summarised the activities of the British Zionist Federation in Tel Aviv and the ways it helped British immigrants. S. W. Gold led the appeal, the result of which was £5,000.

A dinner at Folmans was Bethnal Green's choice of celebrating Independence Day. Mr. and Mrs. A. Marks were hosts with A. Berniger in the Chair. Mrs. M. Langer presented a certificate for 13 trees to the hosts. Guest speaker Miss B. J. Barwell gave her impressions of a recent visit to Israel and relayed a vivid picture of the ma'abrot. I. J. Miller also spoke and £200 was realised.

Streatham: Major Bar Selle also dealt with the economic aspect of Israel when he addressed the Streatham committee at the home of Mrs. P. Goldman. N. Tuchman presided and H. Content and D. Spier spoke, raising a sum of £1,000.

Sutton's thanksgiving service, conducted by the community's younger congregants, was followed by a reception attended by the Mayor of Sutton and Cheam, Ald. Miss Irene Cook, J.P.,

MISHCON LAUDS FRUIT TRADE



Planning the Fruit Trade's agenda at the Savoy: Morris Kutner, Victor Mishcon, J. C. da Costa and Joseph Saphir.

It was a "stag" occasion with a difference for Fruit and Vegetable J.P.A. committee workers at the Savoy Hotel. For this marked their own Barmitzvah, the group having been founded in the same year as the Jewish state.

During this period it had raised no less than £140,000—to earn a "thank you" speech from Victor Mishcon, their guest speaker. Mr. Mishcon went on to describe the ingathering of the exiles as be-

ing the "miracle of our time", and said that the tremendous sacrifices that the tiny nation had undergone was an example for the people of this country to follow.

There was still more money to raise, however. And Morris Kutner, president, conducted an appeal that added another £7,000 to the Trade's record. Joseph C. da Costa presided and the winding up speech was made by Jack L. Israel.

JPA-JNF NEWS

to whom a presentation of trees was made. Rev. Dr. Chaim Pearl was the guest speaker and he discussed the cultural activities and intellectual standard of Israel. L. Nathan was in the Chair and other speakers were R. Goldstein and Rabbi A. M. Rose. A. Gold conducted the appeal which realised £2,600.

Wanstead: The ever-present danger of Arab hostility and pride in the history of Israel was the subject of Gideon Shomron's address at a gathering at the home of Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Markridge of the Wanstead community. Rev. J. Ferber spoke and S. W. Gold's appeal resulted in £1,000 being raised.

The boys parade: Thirteen Barmitzvah boys paraded at the Lord Morrison Hall in Tottenham in honour of Israel's own national birthday and to welcome Mrs. Hubner at her last meeting in Britain.

The guest from Israel was supported by S. W. Gold on this occasion and an appeal realised £250. L. Littman presided and the vote of thanks was given by M. Rebuck.

SOUTH WEST ESSEX

A comparison of impressions was the principal feature of a discussion at a recent gathering of the South West Essex J.N.F. Commission. The occasion: presentation of Golden Book certificates to Mr. and Mrs. H. Shafran and Mr. and Mrs. M. Smith.

Chairman W. Angel introduced Victor Cohen, president of a neighbouring synagogue, who gave a vivid account of his travels in Israel. He was followed by Mr. Shafran and Mr. Smith, both of whom had their own experiences to contribute.

Rev. A. Rosenfeld spoke of the spiritual content of Israel. He felt that this quality reached the Jews outside Israel when they helped to cultivate the barren mountains and waste lands.

E. Valens proposed a vote of thanks and £200 was contributed to the Barmitzvah Forest.

MUSWELL HILL PERSEVERES

Although officers of the Muswell Hill J.P.A. committee commenced their canvassing in March, they intend to continue their efforts throughout the year. M. H. Morris, chairman of this committee, has expressed his regret that the committee is small in number, but has confirmed that an all-out effort will continue.

CANVASSING IN THE GARDEN SUBURB



Many of us regard J.P.A. canvassing as a thankless chore, but we should be highly encouraged by the example of Hampstead Garden Suburb, where first-rate organisation and hard work turned this year's canvassing drive into a triumph. The volunteers went out on five days in the middle of May and rounded up new prospects last Sunday. As a result, 94 new contributions were brought back

to local headquarters in Harry Landy's house, aggregating to £6,060. The Suburb therefore still keeps its lead among district committees with almost £30,000 raised this year from 207 subscribers. Our picture shows the satisfied smiles after one evening's work, with (from left) A. Kramer, A. I. Bard, M. Fulder, M. Radberg, H. Landy, I. Rockman and B. Addleman.

K.K.L.'S 1961-62 BUDGET

The Board of Directors of the Jewish National Fund, meeting in Jerusalem, has approved a budget for 1961/62 amounting to £27,350,000. This is the breakdown:

Land reclamation in five new development regions, at an outlay of **£7,000,000**.

Continued drainage in the Huleh Valley, and similar operations in the Negev, in the Arava Valley and in the S'dom salt swamps south of the Dead Sea will require **£1,150,000**.

The allocation for afforestation is **£7,200,000**. This will enable some five million trees to be planted over and above the 16 million trees planted in recent years which still require nurturing. Also, the cultivation of 18,000 dunams (four and a half thousand acres) of tree avenues and plantations of vine, almond, olive and carob will proceed.

Altogether, 43,000 dunams (over 10,000 acres) of land is to be reclaimed and 65 Km. of roads constructed during the budgetary period.

The K.K.L.'s expenditure is covered by contributions from overseas and Israeli sources, income from land holdings and loans.

BRIDGE PLAYERS FACE CHALLENGE

Preparations are nearing completion for the J.N.F. Bridge Tournament. The national Finals are to be held on Sunday afternoon, June 18, at the Berners Hotel, W.1., when Lord Morris of Kenwood will present the Edith Wolfson trophy.

Thirteen London districts and teams from the provinces will compete, the finalists to date being: Golders Green, J. H. Kersley and S. Harris; Hampstead Garden Suburb, A. Rose and J. Perry; Hendon, A. L. Benjamin and M. Fox; St. John's Wood, G. Kamerling and M. Altberg; Willesden, J. Abrahams and P. Gordon; Edgware, J. Masters and M. Goodyer; Hampstead, R. L. Michaelson and F. N. Nabarro.

The ladies too are taking their bridge seriously. Their Finals are scheduled for Monday afternoon, June 12, at Crockford's Club, 16 Carlton Terrace, S.W.1. Finalists so far notified for the Edith Morrison Trophy are: Mrs. S. Bard, Mrs. V. Silberman, Mrs. B. Zola, Mrs. A. Sheril, Mrs. P. Lewis, Mrs. E. Coleman, Mrs. R. Marcus, Lady Doris Rhodes, Mrs. L. Bendham, Mrs. E. Sadie, Mrs. B. Tarlo, Mrs. V. Cooper, Mrs. J. Gatti, and Miss V. Daly.

J P A - J N F N E W S

GALILEE COMES TO CARDIFF

A city's link with Israel was forged last week in Cardiff when the Israel Ambassador visited the Principality and told a 300-strong audience about development plans for Biranit in Upper Galilee.

The Cardiff Jewish community, which was led in this project by David Joseph, followed the Ambassador's address by initiating the "Cardiff in Galilee" scheme. A sum of £2,000 was raised for the reclamation of an allocated portion of the Biranit region, and over the years Cardiff citizens are to subscribe more funds so as to develop these Galilean acres as an across-the-seas handshake from Wales.

The Lord Mayor of Cardiff, Ald. Mrs. Dorothy Lewis, has taken a personal interest in the project, which was described at length in a publication specially issued for the occasion.

ISRAEL'S NEWEST FEATURE FILM : BLAZING SAND HAS BRITISH PREVIEW ON JUNE 11

Something unusual in the way of film entertainment is offered to London Jewry on Sunday evening, June 11, at the Prince of Wales Theatre when the latest full-length feature from Israel, "Blazing Sands," gets its British preview.

Topical : Organised jointly by the committees of Neasden, South-West Essex and West Ham J.N.F. Commissions, "Blazing Sand" tells a thrilling human story about Israel that is right up to the minute in topicality. It stars Daliah Lawie, a young Israeli actress who has now reached the top and is lined up to play principal roles in four new French films.

"Blazing Sand" is not yet due for general release and consequently this J.N.F. Gala will be the only opportunity for audiences to see it in this country this season. Other J.N.F. Commissions

have arranged for showings in the leading towns of the provinces.

Adventure story : It is the story of a desperate search for Biblical scrolls that takes a group of five people, driven by conflicting motives, across the Israel border in an adventure that exposes their true characters and the battling instincts of love, friendship and avarice. Daliah Lawie plays a romantic role in which she joins the group so as to meet up with her lover who has been injured in the clandestine adventure.

"Blazing Sand" is an Aero-film, directed by Raphael Nussbaum and is undoubtedly one of the best productions ever to come out of Israel. You may see it at the following prices: three guineas, two guineas, 30/-, 21/-, 15/-, 10/6d. and 7/6d. Tickets are obtainable from Mrs. Lucy Kaye and L. L. Glazer at J.N.F. Head Office, 65 Southampton Row, W.C.1. (MUS 6111), or from officers of the Commissions in charge of the arrangements.

AN INDUSTRY CHOOSES YOUTH

The London and Southeastern Furniture Manufacturers Association has just elected its youngest chairman ever. This is Ralph Rurka, who at 39 now leads the most important policy-making and labour relations body of this industry in Great Britain, and one of the largest in the world. Its membership comprises some 500 individual companies.

Mr. Rurka is, of course, well known in communal affairs. He is joint-chairman of the Furniture and Timber Trades J.P.A. committee and a member of the organisation's national administrative committee. A popular speaker at Jewish gatherings throughout the country, he has also played a prominent part in providing the Habonim movement with its club facilities in north-west London.

By a coincidence, the vice-chairman elected with Mr. Rurka to the London and Southeastern Furniture Manufacturers Association is also Jewish—Leslie Julius of Hille Furniture Ltd. Mr. Julius too is the youngest vice-chairman ever to have reached this office.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE

Omitted from J.P.A. Year Book: A. Marcus; H. Bender, M. Bender (Northern) Ltd.



Daliah Lawie and Mischa Eisenberg have a tense moment in "Blazing Sand."

J P A - J N F NEWS

EDWIN SAMUEL UNDER FIRE

At a meeting convened for members of the New West End Synagogue last week, guest speaker Edwin Samuel threw away his notes and challenged the gathering to fire questions at him.

There ensued a lively session in which an astonishing range of subjects was covered. Mr. Samuel shaped his answers most interestingly.

S. W. Gold was there, so the appeal was not neglected. The meeting took place at the home of Mr. and Mrs. S. J. Vogel, with joint-chairmen H. Lewis and Dr. A. Spiro in charge of the proceedings. This J.P.A. group's total now stands at £7,000.

THIS WEEK'S BEST BOXES

N. LONDON : Mr. J. J. Fenton, Desborough House, Sheldon Avenue, N.6, £8.17.0. Mr. A. S. Harris, 59 Highpoint, N.6, £5.17.0. Mr. A. J. Lawson, Ridgemount, Courtney Avenue, N.6, £3.3.0. Mrs. Cohen, 93 Newington Green Road, N.1, £3.0.0. Mr. H. Major, 1/19 Northwood Hall, Hornsey Lane, N.6, £2.13.0. Mr. R. Bergmann, 16 High Point, North Hill, N.6, £2.11.5. Mrs. Cooper, Roundhill, Compton Avenue, N.6, £2.6.4. Mr. M. Zawadski, 1 Balfour Road, N.5, £2.5.6.

E. LONDON : Mr. Tendler, E. & G. (Brick Lane), c/o 44 Earlham Grove, E.7, £9.2.8. Mr. and Mrs. S. Rosenberg, 92 Claremont Road, E.7, £7.1.0. Mr. and Mrs. H. Caplin, 123 Clapton Common, E.5, £4.5.0. Mr. S. Brenner, 38 Ashtead Road, E.5, £3.9.9. Mr. Brown, 89 Earlham Grove, E.7, £3.7.2. Mr. and Mrs. H. Angel, 44 Earlham Grove, E.7, £2.4.1. Mr. H. West, 29 Norwich Road, E.7, £2.3.11. West Ham Ladies Guild, 95 Earlham Grove, E.7, £2.1.6. Mr. Bergman, 68 Windsor Road, E.7, £2.0.0.

W. LONDON : Dr. V. Della, 80 Brook Green, W.6, £3.7.5. Mrs. Middlebrook, 177 Lauderdale Mansions, Lauderdale Road, W.9, £3.0.0. Mr. Steinbock, 23 Elgin Court, Elgin Avenue, W.9, £2.10.0. Mr. Galle, 9 Richmond Way, W.12, £2.2.0.

N.W. LONDON : Mr. Michael M. Frazer, 31 Mapesbury Court, Shoot-up-Hill, N.W.2, £5.3.10. Mr. Stern, 12 Warwick Road, Shoot-up-Hill, N.W.2, £5.0.0. Mrs. Furman, 25 Southfields, N.W.4, £4.19.6. Mrs. Cohen, 107 Southfields, N.W.4, £2.18.10. Mrs. Strauss, 72 Downage, N.W.4, £2.4.0. Mr. G. Hartog, 10 Wiltem Court, Shoot-up-Hill, N.W.2, £2.2.3. Mr. A. Moss, Flat 6, 1 Mapesbury Road, N.W.2, £2.2.0. Mr. G. Neugebauer, 206 Willesden Lane, N.W.6, £2.0.0. Mrs. Abrahams, 52 St. John's Court, Finchley Road, N.W.3, £2.0.0.

EDGWARE : Mr. A. Markiewicz, 66 Broadfields Avenue, £8.7.0. Mr. F. Fraiman, 8 Broadfields Avenue, £2.2.4.

WEMBLEY : Mrs. S. Goldring, 20 Kings Court, Forty Lane, £2.2.0. Dr. K. Sanders, 3 Mount Drive, £2.2.0. Mr. J. Collier, 28 Oakington Avenue, £2.2.0. Mr. Henry Harris, 17 Forty Lane, £2.0.0. Misses H. and I. Rothschild, 88 Empire Court, £2.0.0. Mrs. S. Goldfarb, 47 Rosslyn Crescent, £2.0.0. Dr. and Mrs. Hyman, 191 Wembley Hill Road, £2.0.0.

PRESTON : Mrs. E. Korn, The Limes, Moot Park Avenue, £5.10.6. Mrs. Wagner, The Red Lion, Church Street, £4.0.3. Mrs. B. Royce, 9 Carlisle Avenue, £2.9.9. Mrs. M. Silverman, 1 Regents Drive, Fulwood, £2.7.0. Mrs. B. Fine, 13 Fishwick View, £2.5.8. Mrs. A. Ellman, 6 Hawksbury Drive, £2.2.0.

SLOUGH AND DISTRICT : Mr. S. Isaacs, 40 Sutton Avenue, £12.9.0. Mr. H. L. Isaacs, 4 Hempson Avenue, £5.10.0. Mrs. Archer, 88 Evelyn Crescent, Sunbury, £4.0.0. Mr. J. Isaacs, 8 Mount Pleasant Drive, Belper, Derby, £2.0.0. Rev. L. Rosenberg, 30 St. Pauls Road, Staines, £2.0.0.

SWANSEA : Mr. S. Plosher, 4 Sketley Green, £2.2.0. Mr. & Mrs. Gross, 19 Ermald Place, £2.0.0. Miss Marilyn Fishman, Montrose House, Eden Avenue, Uplands, £2.0.0. Mr. O. Strel, 36 Sketley Green, £2.0.0. Mrs. Winer, 1 Cambridge Street, £2.0.0.



Finsbury Park supporters maintained their usual high standard at a reception last week addressed by Jacob Halevy and S. W. Gold. A sum of £650 was raised. Arrangements were in the capable hands of joint-chairmen E. Milner and H. Coren, and Mrs. N. Diamond was presented with a certificate for trees planted in memory of her late husband, Tottenham benefactor Simon Diamond. Pictured in the group above are (standing, from left) S. Klahr, Mrs. E. Milner, Mrs. Klahr, Mr. Milner and Mr. Gold. (Seated) Miss Milner, Mrs. J. Michaels and Mrs. Diamond.

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JERUSALEM

POLITICS IMPINGE ON EICHMANN TRIAL

MOTIVE SOUGHT FOR PROSECUTION'S LINE

from our own correspondent

Jerusalem :

When it became known during the preparations for the Eichmann trial that Joel Brand would be called as a major witness for the prosecution and that the events in Hungary in 1944 would feature as a central point in the case to be presented by the Attorney General, there were a few voices raised in warning lest the cause of justice become confused by the impingement of politics.

This week's proceedings in the court trying Adolf Eichmann gave added point to these warnings. The prosecution's case was based upon Brand's testimony and Eichmann's "blood for goods" offer, supported by a selection of documents taken from the files of the Jewish Agency and referring to communications between the Agency and the British Government during 1944.

Despite the description "sensational" applied to these documents by a number of local and foreign reporters, there was, in fact, little new about any of them. Some had been referred to in the course of the two Kastner trials. All had been mentioned in the epilogue written by Moshe Sharett to the Hebrew and German editions (but not the English) of Joel Brand's book *Advocate for the Dead*.

Paratroop plan : What was striking was the manner of selection exercised by the prosecution, which seemed intent upon indicting the wartime British Government for its alleged unconcern with the fate of European and specifically Hungarian Jewry. In a number of instances, there seems little reason for introducing certain documents at all.

The only really new document from the Agency files reveals that, at the beginning of 1944, the Agency had put up a scheme to the British authorities which involved the dropping of hundreds of Palestinian Jews by parachute into Hungary. According to a memorandum prepared by Dr. Nahum Goldmann for Dr. Weizmann when it was thought the Zionist leader might testify before the Nuremberg tribunal, it was the considered view of senior British military authorities that

such an operation would have been militarily advantageous to the allies and would have been helpful in preventing the massacre of the thousands of Hungarian Jews then alive.

However, according to the memorandum, after the operation had been approved by all the military authorities concerned and arrangements were put in hand for its implementation, the Foreign



OTTO KOMOLY
Hungary's Zionist President
—abducted by the Germans

and Colonial Offices intervened and, on political grounds, ordered the military authorities to drop it.

Bombing request : Whatever the motives of the prosecution, the documents as selected and presented arouse bitter feelings. They suggest an almost unbelievable callousness and indifference on the part of the British Government, apparently without reference to the conditions prevailing at the time.

One set of letters concerns the proposed bombing of the camps and of the railway lines leading to Birkenau and Auschwitz. They followed an interview between Weizmann, Goldmann and then Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden early in July 1944. The Zionist leaders told Eden that, on the basis of reports from Budapest, 400,000 Hungarian Jews had already been sent to the death camps where four crematoria were operating.

They urged him to advance Joel Brand's mission, to publish jointly with their allies a declaration of readiness to admit Jewish refugees, to ask the Swiss Government to inform the local authorities in Hungary thereof and to issue protective passes, to broadcast a stern warning to Hungarian officials, railwaymen

and the general population that anyone helping the deportation would be treated as war criminals, and to bomb the death camps and railways.

"Demonstrative value": In a Jewish Agency note to the Foreign Office dated July 11, 1944, it is admitted that the "bombing of the death camps was hardly likely to achieve the salvation of the victims to any appreciable extent" because it might only temporarily dislocate the German machinery for systematic and wholesale murder. However, the note continued, the "main purpose of the bombing should be its many-sided and far-reaching moral effect."

It would mean, in the first instance, the note went on, "that the Allies have waged direct war on extermination . . . Secondly, it would give the lie to the oft-repeated assertions of Nazi spokesmen that the Allies are not really so displeased with the work of the Nazis in ridding Europe of its Jews. Thirdly, it would go far towards dissipating the incredulity which still persists in Allied quarters regarding reports of mass extermination by the Nazis. Fourthly, it would give weight to threats of reprisals against the murderers by showing that the Allies are taking the extermination of Jews so seriously as to warrant the allocation of aircraft resources for this particular operation and thus have a deterrent effect.

"Lastly, it would convince German circles still hopeful of Allied mercy of the genuineness of Allied condemnation of the murder of Jews and possibly result in some internal pressure against continuation of the massacres. A first report that the R.A.F. or the American Air Force had bombed the death camps in upper Silesia is bound to have a demonstrative value. . . . Special attention may be drawn to the fact that the Auschwitz camp contains workshops of the German armament concerns Siemens and Krupp."

Great technical difficulties : On July 15, A. W. G. Randall of the Foreign Office wrote to Sharett that the Weizmann suggestions regarding bombing "are receiving attention with the appropriate authorities." But, on September 1, Richard Law wrote to Weizmann: "As he promised, Mr. Eden immediately put the proposal to the Secretary of State for Air. The matter received the most careful consideration of the Air Staff, but I am sorry to have to tell you that, in view of the very great technical difficulties involved, we have no option but to refrain from pursuing the proposal in the present circumstances."

"I realise that this decision will prove a disappointment to you, but you may

feel assured that the matter was most thoroughly investigated."

After Attorney General Gideon Hausner had read these letters to the court on Tuesday, Judge Halevy asked him what the phrase "very great technical difficulties" meant. Hausner said he did not know. The court should address its question to the British Air Ministry. But, added Hausner, for his part he did not think there were any such difficulties.

Churchill's note to Eden: What neither the prosecution nor the Agency documents revealed was that on July 11, the date of the Agency's note to the Foreign Office, Prime Minister Churchill sent a directive to Eden in which he declared that:

"this persecution of Jews in Hungary is probably the greatest and most horrible crime ever committed in the whole history of the world . . . It is quite clear that all concerned in this crime who may fall into our hands, including the people who only obeyed orders by carrying out the butcheries, should be put to death. . . . There should therefore, in my opinion, be no negotiations of any kind on this subject. Declarations should be made in public, so that everyone connected with it will be hunted down and put to death."

This was followed by a joint warning from the Allied leaders to Hungary against further deportations of Jews. As shown by earlier testimony, this did in fact have the effect of persuading Horthy to order the stoppage of all further transports and so to save the lives of 200,000 Budapest Jews (although Eichmann managed to smuggle out one last train with 1,500 Jews by rounding up all Jewish leaders and preventing them from alerting Horthy).

The Agency documents submitted to the court are mainly correspondence with the Foreign Office or internal memoranda. There is one long report in Hebrew by Sharett on his meetings with Brand and the events that followed. They all show that the Jewish Agency fully realised the situation and brought every possible pressure to bear on the British Government to do something about it.

Close co-operation: From a careful reading, and disregarding the prosecution's presentation, it is also clear that the British Government took the matter very seriously and that the High Commissioner in Jerusalem used every endeavour to help. Co-operation was so close that the Jewish Agency used the communications facilities of the British Government between Jerusalem and London for the dispatch of messages between Rehavia and Great Russell Street, simply asking the Colonial Office to pass a message on to Weizmann, or whoever was involved.

Detailed reading of the documents sub-

mitted by the prosecution leaves an impression that the British Government wanted to do something positive in response to the Agency's bombing request but that somewhere along the line something happened which caused abandonment of the project.

There is something cloudy about Eden's part in the discussions. When, during discussions on July 6 with Sharett and



MRS. ZIPORA SHARETT
A shocked spectator

Weizmann, the latter wanted to send Dr. Menahem Bader to Budapest to keep the negotiations with Eichmann open (Brand had already overstayed Eichmann's deadline by two weeks), Eden objected that Bader, who was an allied subject, could not be allowed to enter enemy territory. Britain could not agree to anything that looked like negotiating with the enemy. It was too dangerous.

Eden explains: The Jewish Agency had asked permission for Bader's journey as an alternative to the return of Brand who was still held in a Cairo jail. But, said Eden, Brand could go back to Budapest only with the consent of the Soviet Government. He told his visitors that he had already been in touch with the Air Ministry about the possibility of bombing the death camps. With regard to Sharett's reference to the extreme urgency of the whole matter, Eden said the British Government was wholly alive to it, but had to have the Russians with them. Another cable would be sent to Moscow.

Weizmann's final remark was that the one conclusion to be drawn from the whole tragedy was to create a state of

affairs which would make any recurrence impossible. He hoped that an opportunity would soon present itself of discussing this problem with Eden. The Foreign Secretary said that he hoped so too. He intimated that he fully appreciated the import of the problem.

Brand's testimony on Monday and Tuesday was along familiar lines, but it left one or two questions still open. One of the documents submitted to the court was Sharett's memorandum on his meeting with Brand. During their discussion, he asked Brand about the claim made by Bondi Grosz, an S.S. agent sent to Istanbul with Brand by Eichmann, that the whole "blood for goods" proposal was simply a cover story under which peace feelers might be put out. Brand, reported Sharett, "replied that it was quite possible."

Not possible: Defence counsel Dr. Servatius asked Brand whether Eichmann told him that he had received orders from above to continue deporting Jews to the death camps despite his desire to stop them. Brand replied: "No, Eichmann never told me he wished to stop the deportations. He said he had investigated me and found me capable and that he was always prepared to exchange goods for blood and blood for goods."

Servatius asked Brand why Eichmann had pressed him to leave so quickly on his mission to Istanbul. Brand replied: "Just so as to frustrate the whole plan. For how was it possible to arrange to save one million Jews in eight to ten days?" This was the time allowed Brand for completion of his mission.

British don't want Jews: Under further cross-examination from Servatius, Brand claimed that the British "simply did not want" the one million Jews to be released under the proposed deal.

In his evidence, Brand said that Eichmann had promised to release 100,000 Jews immediately and blow up Auschwitz if he returned from Istanbul with a positive answer to the proposed offer of one million Jews for ten thousand trucks. Cross-examined by Servatius, Brand said that in his talks in Cairo and earlier in Aleppo he might have mentioned a lower figure than 100,000 Jews for initial release. The reason for this was that "I did not want to mention a higher figure lest the British should make difficulties."

The chapter on Hungary has not yet been closed. In the sense of history it may never be closed. But many unanswered questions have been posed in the Jerusalem court, for which not only replies are necessary, but also motives. But could this be settled by a court of law or would it require the research of skilled political and military historians?